/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 782 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [785] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

● 527 Carnival Festival.

*[796 813] Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

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/378 cont./

297
529

[825]

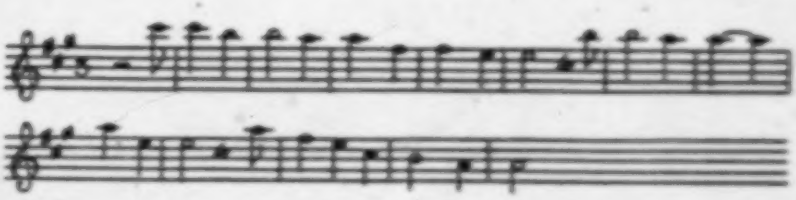
Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

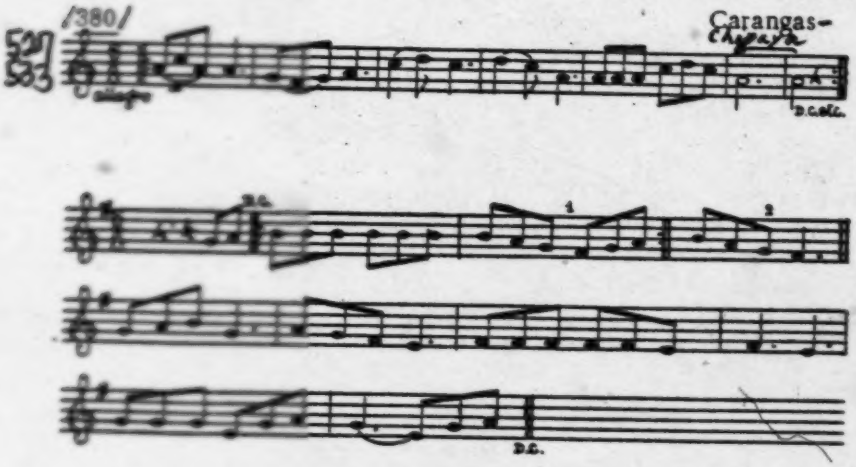
[824]
[482]

/379 cont./

529 291 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [273] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the [554] sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

529 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances





Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

527 /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
[578] exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
833 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.
[711]

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and
[708] were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-
782 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
907 this sacrifice:
539

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	šmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	šmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol.
[782] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/381 cont./

[527] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Čipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [313] [324] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [1018] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 1018 [1012] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarina," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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601 female baby, little girl = ul-tukus-wawa, kus wawa, tukus-wawa lu; young girl = pas-pak-ul; young woman = us.

535 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is
591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male
163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent,
882 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Pomansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymara *kilacata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*!) is called in Uru *kapali ne sawatsilki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of
692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *kusk kapali* ("big kapali").
701 Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[*] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kuña*) or *ch'a-paikka* (*kirkir'a*), and the *chiju-chiju*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepus" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *mimula* (<Cecha, Aymara "blood"?). The *panip'ia* and *pusa* flutes are played at the dance of *Tawrila* on the date of Espiritu, the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "mimilla," a "pupu" or plumed hat, the "pacsiu" or "pacsilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kusu* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "tawrila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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* Bertonio, Vocabulario I, pp. 64 and 181. Other information, Pomansky *op. cit.*, p. 163.